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Vol. IV. LABOR NUMBER. No. 9.

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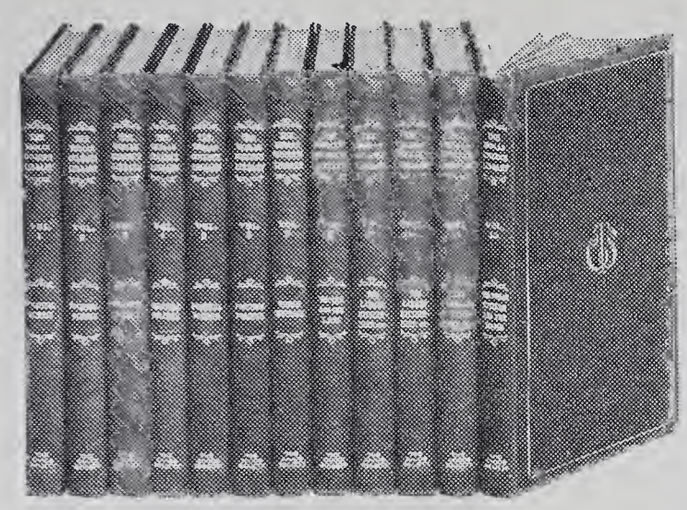

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The Woman Voter and The Newsletter

Organ of The Woman Suffrage Party and the
New York State Woman Suffrage Association

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THE RETURN FROM TOIL

FOREWORD TO LABOR NUMBER.

THIS number of THE WOMAN VOTER is dedicated to the wage-earners.

We are not with those who sit upon the Mourner's Bench because more than seven million women are earning a living outside of their homes.

We hold that the right to labor is the greatest gift which life bestows. Without work life is dull, narrow and common place. Energies which should be utilized in service or creative activity are wasted in vain attempts to find pleasure and self-satisfaction. The only happy men and women are those who have tasks which must be performed regardless of the vicissitudes of personal existence.

We believe that self-support is the most vital element in the development of the individual, applying equally to men and women. The ability of woman to take care of herself without depending upon her father, husband, brother or son marks the greatest step in her advance.

We know that generations before woman worked outside of the home she earned her living within the home. From the beginning she has been engaged in those occupations upon which the race has depended for its existence. Whatever her position of servitude or dependence, she has never eaten unearned bread.

WE are not sorry that the Industrial Revolution forced woman out of home industry into community activity. So long as the family was the unit of social life woman's individuality was merged into that of her male relatives. As soon as she became a separate economic factor her development was made possible.

We rejoice that a century of labor outside of the home has demonstrated woman's fitness for individual existence. We know that from her economic emancipation will come social and political freedom. The millions of women who are supporting themselves to-day in the United States are the greatest single argument for woman suffrage that can be advanced. The women who toil are the pioneers, they are the first citizens among women.

UPHOLDING as we do the right to labor, and believing in the principle of self-support, we deplore present conditions of work for women.

We regret that the millions of women who are engaged in home-making and child nurture are an overworked, underpaid and unrecognized group in the body of workers.

WE wish that the thousands of women who have entered the professions might advance without the oppressive weight of ancient traditions of inferiority and perpetual reminder of the limitations of sphere.

But we recognize that the heaviest burden of woman's handicap rests to-day upon those who are actually in industry. It is in the offices, stores and factories that the inequality of woman's position finds complete fruition.

Generations of household service have established her right to work without a time limit; years of unpaid labor has set a minimum value upon her efforts; ages of patient resignation have guaranteed her willingness to suffer adverse conditions without rebellion.

WE believe that the evolution of family life and changing social conditions will eventually establish proper recognition of woman's work as mother and home-keeper.

We confidently expect that the continual successes of professional women will ultimately yield fair competition and prove their right to choose any line of creative activity for which they are fitted.

But we fear that unless all women rise up and insist upon the welfare of the woman in industry, her exploitation will continue.

We therefore call upon all women to stand by the wage-earners in their efforts to organize. The tendency of the age is toward collective action, and trades-unions for women are simply an effort of the workers to bargain as a group instead of as individuals.

We advise all suffragists, even in this period of waiting for enfranchisement, to use every means in their power to insure for all women workers a *living wage, an eight-hour day* and *safe and sanitary work-shops.*

But we insist that our greatest gift to the wage-earner will be the ballot. Unenfranchised, the working woman is at the mercy of those who, in a commercial age, forget the needs of human beings and their right to fair conditions of work. Without the vote, her struggles to better conditions are but ineffectual attempts to wrest by indirect means that which she could take by right through legislation.

The steady improvement in conditions of work for men in New York State since 1826, when universal suffrage for white men was established, is proof that the ballot in the hands of working women will insure progress after their enfranchisement.

Therefore, for the sake of the wage-earners we call upon women to give themselves loyally and steadfastly to the great task of winning New York State for suffrage in 1915!

SCHOOL FOR SUFFRAGE WORKERS

AS a suffrage worker are you effective? The difference between efficiency and semi-efficiency in the New York campaign may mean the difference between success and failure on the final vote. In order to help our workers to larger, stronger usefulness, a school of training will open Monday, Sept. 15th, and continue two weeks. The classes will be held in the Headquarters of the State Suffrage Association at 180 Madison Avenue, and the Headquarters of the Woman Suffrage Party, at 48 East 34th Street. The lectures will be given in a near-by hall.

Although the school has been primarily arranged with reference to the New York State campaign, pupils will be accepted from other states and several have already made application for registration, one coming from England.

Instruction will be given in constitutional and political history of the nation and state; the history of woman suffrage; parliamentary practice; organization; money-raising; press work; voice culture and public speaking; arguments for woman suffrage and political work.

In connection with the school a lecture session will be held five days of each week either in the afternoon or evening. At each of these sessions there will be two lectures each restricted to forty-five minutes, fifteen additional minutes being given to questions. Twenty subjects related to woman suffrage will be treated by men and women of prominence who are especially well equipped for the particular work undertaken. These names will be announced later.

Among the subjects treated will be the following: The extent and quality of work done by women in the United States for philanthropy and charity; the place of women in American education; the status of American women wage earners; the status of women property holders in New York; the status of women under the law; the anti-suffrage position; work for women in the underworld; the history of the struggle for the "taxation without representation;" the history and ideals of the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Socialist Party, the Prohibition Party, and the Progressive Party.

These last-named lectures will be given by men prominent in the best leadership of their respective parties.

Registration in the school will be given free, and attendance upon the twenty lectures for those not registered in the school may be obtained by the purchase of season tickets at $2.00 each. Ten instructors and twenty lecturers will constitute the "faculty" of the School for Suffrage Workers. Single lectures 25 cents.

The pupils will be given practical drill in speaking at street meetings, work of organization and arrangement of meetings. Applications for registration may be made at the State Woman Suffrage Association Headquarters, or the Woman Suffrage Party Headquarters, or they may be sent directly to me. It is desired that all registrations shall be completed before the opening of the school, in order that no time may be lost from the class on Monday, September 15th. Boarding places as near the class rooms as possible will be obtained for the pupils upon application.

Full information concerning instructions and lecturers will be available soon and will be sent to all inquirers.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
Director of School.

THE GREAT PILGRIMAGE IN ENGLAND

THE great event which has been happening in England during the last four weeks is the Pilgrimage organized by the National Union.

Women from the North of England, from the South, from the East and from the West, from Wales, from Scotland and Ireland, have marched up to London, holding meetings in the villages and towns they passed through, distributing leaflets, tramping through rain and dust and heat, wearing straw cockle shells in their hats made in red, green and white, the colors of the Union, carrying little flags, sometimes banners, too, in the same brilliant colors, knapsacks on their backs, and stirring England as she has not been stirred for many a long day.

All ages, denominations, parties and classes joined this ever-advancing pilgrimage. An old couple of eighty marched with one contingent. A still older couple came from North Wales, and the two oldest suffragists in Ireland, each of them well over eighty, were in it. Two hundred and ninety-nine miles (English) is the distance some have walked. A Yorkshire man of ninety-five was there for part of the route. The infant, too, was there, brought by its mother to see this great procession, labeled "non-militant" and "Votes for Women." So was the member of Parliament who made speeches on the platforms, the cobbler who mended the pilgrims' shoes for nothing, the bill-poster who plastered the walls with notices from sheer love of the Cause—everyone was there. The clergy opened the doors of their chapels, churches and cathedrals, and preached the ethics of our movement; Aldermen and Councillors mounted our platform and made eloquent speeches in the towns we swept through.

Our brave women have been knocked down, kicked, trampled on, injured, but their courage through it all won the people's hearts in the end.

One of the reasons for the hostility shown in some places, mostly small country towns, was that the Anti-Suffragists had been busy along some of the routes before our band arrived, holding meetings, and saying the usual things, such as, that when women get the vote the baby will be neglected, the home ruined, the husband reduced to misery because his shirts will be neither mended nor washed, and so on; that our colonies and dependencies will rebel and England will be in a state of horrible chaos. As one man expressed it, "women will turn the world upside down." In places not yet touched by our educational work, such statements still pass for arguments.

However, dangers and difficulties occurred only in parts of the routes. In many places people cheered the Pilgrims, welcomed them, fed and housed them, marched with them, even strewed flowers before them. The working-women were splendid in their appreciation. One, a weaver from Yorkshire, gave up her short, much-needed holiday and a whole week's wage, in order to march and carry a heavy banner. In some places members of the Labor Party came out and helped to hold meetings. In another, some agricultural laborers joined our Pilgrims enthusiastically on their march.

THE great demonstration in Hyde Park, which was the climax of the Pilgrimage, was declared by the papers, even by those who have always been opposed to our cause, to be the finest thing London has seen for fifty years.

Long processions of the Pilgrims, and of men (even a few members of Parliament joined us!) and women, from every part of our island, who had come specially for the occasion, were marshaled along the streets headed by three women on horseback. Our banners were flying, bands playing as we walked between crowds of attentive, sympathetic and at times enthusiastic spectators. Women of all ages, of all classes, of all parties, marched together united as never before with one common enthusiasm. Our former processions and demonstrations have been great, magnificent, perhaps larger in numbers, but there was something in this one which cannot easily be described. It was something which shone on the faces of the marchers, which was reflected on the faces of the crowds who lined the streets, and who stood beneath the nineteen platforms, 70,000 strong and more, listening to the speeches. To many of us it was as the clear shining of the dawn on the mountain tops.

F. O. I. in *Jus Suffragii.*

TOWARDS VICTORY FOR THE NATION

TO-DAY the suffrage movement transcends State boundaries and the women of the country are united in one great struggle for freedom. This does not mean that suffrage campaigns have been discontinued in the separate States, but it signifies that suffragists are using the added power of the enfranchised States to hasten a great national victory.

WASHINGTON, the scene of so many brilliant suffrage events during the past winter, has also served as a great centre of summer activity. On the 31st of July delegates representing every State in the Union met and paraded to the Capitol with Senate petitions urging the passage of the Chamberlin resolution, which proposes an amendment to the Constitution granting suffrage to women.

As a prelude to the demonstration, couriers bearing the petition passed through each State, holding mass meetings, parades, canvassing the country districts and creating local centres of agitation. The petitions which were presented to each Senator by representatives from his State numbered nearly 200,000 names. Senator Owen made the formal presentation to the Senate, declaring that he did it in no perfunctory way, but because he believed that woman suffrage was for the best interests of the nation. Among the Senators who spoke favorably for the resolution which has already been successfully reported by the Senate committee, were Ashurst of Arizona, Jones and Poindexter of Washington, Works of California, Lane of Oregon, Smoot of Utah and Thomas and Shafroth of Colorado.

ON the 28th of July the National Council of Women Voters issued a call to conference in Washington which said:

A critical situation has arisen in the National Suffrage Movement—your help, as women voters, is urgently needed.

The National Council of Women Voters therefore issues an emergency call for a Conference in the National Capital on August 13, 14 and 15.

In the Senate this session, for the first time in our history, a United States Constitutional Amendment, enfranchising women, has been unanimously given a favorable report by the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage. The amendment is now before the Senate. Now is the time to press for favorable action upon it.

In the House no Committee on Woman Suffrage exists. Suffrage bills are reported to the Judiciary Committee, which is over-crowded with diverse kinds of legislative work. For twenty-three years no report on a Woman Suffrage bill has been made by the Judiciary Committee. It is of urgent importance to get a Woman Suffrage Committee in the House, like that already existing in the Senate. A resolution to create a House Woman Suffrage Committee was therefore introduced in the House this session; it is now before the Rules Committee. This Committee has granted the National Council of Women Voters an informal hearing on August 14, at which the president, Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, of Tacoma, Washington, will preside. You are cordially invited to be present.

One-fifth of the Senate, one-seventh of the House, and one-sixth of the electoral vote come from equal Suffrage States. At this stage of the progress of the Federal Amendment, women voters are the decisive factor. The women yet unenfranchised turn to us for help; we must not fail them.

Come then, if you can, to the Conference of Women Voters on August 13th.

When the National Council of Women Voters was founded in January, 1911, there were hardly 400,000 women voters in five states; now, two and a half years later, there are 4,000,000 women voters in ten states. The organization has the three-fold object of educating women voters in the exercise of citizenship, securing legislation in equal suffrage states, and aiding in the further extension of woman suffrage in the United States.

The Congress held successful sessions and heard many reports of progress in the suffrage states. The great event was the hearing before the House Rules Committee at which Miss Jane Addams, Dr. Harvey J. Wiley, Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe and other well-known suffragists spoke in favor of the creation of a new committee.

The closing meeting was held in the Belasco Theatre, which was filled to its utmost capacity. Miss Addams' speech made a deep impression and was widely quoted.

"When women see their social causes, some of them tiny things and newborn," she said, "about to be turned over to government officials, they naturally insist upon an opportunity to help select the men who are about to become the protagonists of their most cherished reforms. The campaign in America is what occurs not only when the social reforms which women have brought forth and nourished afford material for political discussion, but more often when these social measures become matters for legal enactment, for executive enforcement, and for judicial interpretation—that which constantly occurs in every country throughout the civilized world.

"Legislators are easily moved by an appeal in the name of childhood and of motherhood, but it requires an understanding of domestic life and a knowledge of the ways of children in order to legislate wisely for them or for their mothers."

Miss Addams pointed to examples in Germany, England, and other countries, where social measures have been taken up by the government. She spoke of some things as "not so much social reforms, but titanic pieces of social engineering." She declared that women's vote is needed not only to influence legislation, but administration and judicial decisions as well. "There may be a doubtful advantage," she said, "in the fact that more and more women are appointed to positions in administrative government so long as the power of general direction, of determining the trend and temper of new social experiments, is lodged altogether in the hands of men responsible only to men voters and politically free from the public opinion of the women originally concerned for the measure. A multitude of woman officials, carrying out the orders of these men, may be but a travesty of what women with responsibility could accomplish."

DO YOU KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CLERK?

BY

ELIZABETH DUTCHER,

Of the Retail Clerks' Union of New York.

IT is time that the readers of THE WOMAN VOTER, and other women of good will toward their sisters, took an active interest in the fifty thousand women clerks in the stores of Greater New York.

Many of us were stirred recently to read of the dismissal of a woman clerk in Simpson-Crawford's, because she dared to march in the suffrage parade, with about a hundred others of her trade. The girl had sold suffrage hats for the store, and had conceived a great desire to march in the parade. Public notice had been given by the firm that any employe might join the demonstration who would be willing to lose half a day's pay. She marched, and the following Monday was discharged.

This incident illustrates the fundamental wrong of our mercantile situation. The real grievance is not the low wages—though they average lower than factory wages, and a full sales-woman may receive only $2.50 per week—nor the long hours—of them more later,—it is the essential slavery of a trade where there is a triple system of espionage, very slight recognition of efficiency, a fine system that is robbery and not the faintest rudiments of self-government. Such a system is debasing to any individual who works under it.

The spying system is a complicated one. Many stores insure against loss by theft, damage to goods, and trade unionism. The companies that give this insurance place their employees in the stores as sales-clerks, instructing them to note in little books provided for the purpose anything they can hear "against the interest of the firm." The more these hired spies hear, and the more they write down, the better they are paid. No regular employee can tell whether the clerk working at her side is such a spy or not. On the other side of the counter the floor walker and store detective are not the only people who watch the clerk closely. Most stores employ shoppers, who, in the guise of ordinary customers, try to catch the girl in some indiscretion. It is for this reason that it is so difficult for social investigators or trade union organizers to talk to the girls, who are always on their guard against these professionals.

The fines are for lateness, for losing keys, for making a clerical error, and in the case of the cashiers, for deficiencies of one sort or another. (It may be stated that no one feels these fines more than the cashiers, who are often forced to meet shortages for which they are in no way responsible, out of salaries of from six to eight dollars a week.) Many stores fine twenty-five cents for lateness. A girl may have worked

A MAN GOING WRONG

"overtime," that is, until eleven or twelve o'clock every night, and eight hours Sunday, without any extra payment except meal money, but if she comes in after 8.20 Monday she is fined. In some stores a girl must telephone an excuse to the store if she is ill, or else stay away from work the rest of the week. The double hardships this works on the girl living alone, and absolutely dependent on her own resources (about 10 per cent. of the whole number), is evident.

THERE are many people who regard the whole department store problem as one of efficiency, and at least one large organization has been formed and another is under way to solve the problem by means of making the girls more efficient. The method is a hopeless one.

Department store wages and hours are fixed by a department system that amounts to sub-

contracting within the store. Each buyer is supposed to spend a certain per cent. of the gross receipts, and no more, on wages. This is why some firms insist that they "cannot raise wages." The buyer to a very great extent also determines hours, the amount of overtime, and in general the working conditions of that department. Where the sales in a department store bulk large and the profits are great, as in the cloaks and suits, the millinery or the shoe departments, the salaries are larger. When they are small, as is true in most of the departments, and especially such as notions or handkerchiefs, salaries run around $5.00 or $6.00 a week. Until the system is changed they will never be anything else.

At any time the management may feel that the expenses in any one department are too high, the edict goes forth, and the highly paid help in that department, including sometimes the buyers, will receive, at the end of the week without previous warning, the blue slip in his or her envelope that means discharge. Years of service, faithfulness and ability count for little. Expenses must be cut down, and the twelve-dollar-a-week clerk is replaced by the four-dollar-a-week newcomer.

In some stores the "schools of salesmanship" conducted by the firm are hated by the older clerks, because they supply a constant stream of superficially trained, low-priced help to replace the high-paid workers. Moreover, a system which sends the older, plainer, hard-working saleswoman to the basement or some other inconspicuous post, and puts the pretty, fresh young girl in the most-frequented parts of the store has at least a different standard of efficiency from that commonly connoted by that term.

Nevertheless, the trade is a skilled one, and it is becoming more and more impossible for the worker without full experience of a particular kind to find employment in the large stores, except at the rush holiday season.

When the management seeks the cooperation of its employees, and allows at least partial self-government; then there is a regular system of promotion and advancement and summary discharges are unknown, there will be an incentive to efficiency and devotion to the work that cannot be found under the present system.

WAGES in the trade in New York are notorious; the United States Department of Labor says they average around $6.00 a week. Many saleswomen of seven years' experience earn not more than eight dollars weekly, and out of this come the fines and the periods of enforced idleness in the Summer. I know personally one girl in a Fifth avenue store who has been a full saleswoman three years and is getting $5.50 weekly. In most stores the premium system on extra sales is a farce. And though between eighty and ninety per cent. of store girls live at home, 87 per cent. of these give every cent to their families, and are the main dependence of their families, as in the case of so many other working women. Rest rooms, cheap restaurants (where no less an authority than the *Dry Goods Economist* says the food is often unfit to eat), welfare workers and vacation houses where free entertainment is given for a week in Summer, do not compensate for a six-dollar wage and exhausting hours. What the girls want is the old cry, "Justice, not Charity."

A word about the connection between the department store and vice. Any notion that vice is rampant in the stores is of course false; the girls are in the main hard-working and honest; typical American working women. Generalizations are difficult on a subject of which the girls themselves are so reluctant to talk, but it would seem that most of the girls who leave the stores for the organized life of prostitution, are mostly recruited from the low-paid help, while such occasional prostitution as is found among the girls who continue their work has no apparent relation to wages, and may involve a well-paid girl as often as a poorly-paid one. The meritorious quality of the real environment, with its emphasis on appearance, on pleasing or smartness, with the everlasting undercurrent of distrust, has its insidious effect.

Many people are surprised to hear of the long hours in the stores. They see the stores closed in the evenings and Sundays, and think them empty, except for the watchmen. As a matter of fact, the hours in stores, though irregularly long, rival the worst factory hours of the old days. We base a 54-hour law in New York State for women workers in factories. Though twenty other states have progressive legislation for mercantile workers, the dry goods association lobby has been so active in Albany, and the philanthropic organizations so timid, that there is absolutely no protection so far as regulation of hours is concerned for the women workers in stores, whether saleswomen or clerical workers, if she is over 21 years. That the sixty-hour law for women under twenty-one (not in force at Christmas time) is frequently broken is of course true. A shift system for minors, however, together with the small number of State inspectors, added to the fact that it is as much as a girl's job is worth to tell an inspector the truth, make it almost impossible to keep track.

Overtime may take place almost any time of the year, when there is a special sale, or stock-taking, or when a department is moved, but it is commonest at the two great Christian festivals of Christmas and Easter. The Christmas overtime begins about November 1st and goes on until New Years, followed by a month of ordinary work, and then by overtime once more, in the February stock-taking.

The hours vary in different departments, but they frequently run to eighty hours per week, or even more, with the seven-day week. In the

toy department, for instance, the stock is gotten out evenings, marked, and in some cases put together. Dolls, for example, generally come with their little clothes neatly folded in the box, and each doll has to be dressed. Jewelry is taken from the stock room and tagged, books are straightened out and missing titles replaced. This extra work is not recompensed. For evening work lasting later than eight o'clock, supper or supper money is given; for Sunday work up to five o'clock, fifty cents is given, or, very rarely, a day's pay. For six or seven hours' work Sundays or a couple of hours evenings there is no extra pay whatever. Despite a law to the contrary, sitting down is forbidden in most stores. The evil results of these long hours of standing are most marked.

THE other day I went to see a friend from a department store who is laid up for months with water on the knee, the result of eight months in a Sixth avenue store. Side by side with her in the hospital was an ex-store worker, who had married after six years of mercantile employment. Her first baby had been born dead, and she herself escaped death by a miracle. Long standing, the doctor told her, had made it impossible for her to ever bring a healthy baby into the world.

What is the remedy for all this? Of making investigations there is no end, and we have now a mercantile commission in New York State which will doubtless bring in recommendations. But pending a resolution spiritual, or otherwise, that will make men live the golden rule, there are two very evident measures: women's suffrage and trade unionism. The eight-hour day is established by law for women in stores in just three states, and they are California, Colorado and Washington! In Oregon, since the adoption of woman's suffrage, a minimum wage of $7.50 has been awarded women. The new Compulsory Minimum Wage Board, in conference, has decided to recommend $40 a month as the compulsory minimum wage for women mercantile workers in the city of Portland.

Trade unionism for clerks has been until lately the despair of even the trade unionists themselves. The hopelessness of the clerks about their own condition; their overwhelming fear of betrayal: their pitiful false pride and the desire to appear as ladies and gentlemen, rather than workingmen and women—all these things have prejudiced trade unionists against them. It is true that the clerks need outside help and encouragement in organizing more than other kinds of workers. But their unions have recently been very successful. Helped on by suffragists and others, and stimulated by conditions very favorable to trade unionism, the union in England has tripled in size during the past year, and now has almost 100,000 members. The union in Germany has also had a large growth. In Australia the union was almost negligible until the passing of a minimum wage law, which gives it new impetus, with the result that a strong organization was formed.

Our own country seems headed in the same direction. Buffalo recently witnessed a strike of 2,000 department store workers, called out by the Socialists, and these won in three days what the philanthropic organizations of the city had been trying for years to effect—the closing of the stores on Saturday night. Some of the stores also granted a self-government system, and a minimum (instead of average) wage of $6.00. Organization is also going forward in Chicago, Rochester and Philadelphia. In New York a new union has been formed, partly out of the agitation created by the stirring propaganda play, "Within the Law."

After all, many of the best employers will in time doubtless welcome organization, for it will standardize the trade, and render impossible a certain kind of unscrupulous competition that has been especially prevalent in it. But for the present they are bitterly opposed to it.

All the readers of THE WOMAN VOTER are shoppers, and thus indirectly give support to the present system. Will you not help the union by distribution of literature, by speaking of the trade conditions at meetings, by helping through every means in your power to end the debasing conditions in this trade?

The struggle is the old struggle for self-respect and the respect of others through the larger freedom of democracy.

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THE HEGIRA FROM HOME.

"WOMAN'S place is in the home. Her field is in the church, the kitchen, the nursery. Sure Mike! But she doesn't stay there. She's out and about many things. There are in this country 239,077 women stenographers, 327,635 women teachers and professors, 481,159 in various trades, 770,055 engaged in various agricultural pursuits, 7,355 physicians and surgeons, 7,395 clergy, 2,193 journalists, 1,037 architects, designers and draughtsmen, 1,010 lawyers, 429,497 in various professions. . . . They are borne upon by laws that affect them economically. They are reasoning beings. They have a right, surely, to have a voice in the fixing of governmental policies affecting their interests. They have an industrial stake in the country. Moreover, these women, forced out of the home, may be supposed to know something about what it is that forces women out of home into competition with men. They should have a part in legislating for the protection of their interests. More than two million women who are out of the home, battling the world for a living, are not going to be forced back into the home. More of them are coming out of the home all the time. Only they can speak for themselves. They can only speak effectively through the ballot. And the women who are still at home are thinking, too. They are thinking that they are dependents, that they are a part of the people with no voice in the laws that bear on the people. They are not represented. All women realize the limit upon their indirect influence in government. In so far as that indirect influence is good, direct influence would be better. Woman, in the home or out, should have the ballot. She should represent herself at the polls and in the legislature. There are so many things in which none but a woman can represent women."—*M. Reedy in the St. Louis Mirror.*

OUR MILITANT WOMEN.

BY

HELEN MAROT.

I CAME to know a little woman who had committed that unpardonable sin in the labor world of scabbing. When I met her she belonged to what is called, in class distinctions, "the submerged tenth." But to begin with, she was or had been a seven-months-baby. Her thrifty German parent complained to her in later years, that after she came into the world it had cost him a small fortune to keep her here. If he had known that she would make no better use of her privilege he would have spent his money in better ways. When she was nine years old her mother died. Her father married again. The step-mother whipped her and sent her to work. She ran away from home when she was eighteen and married a man for her safe keeping, of educational advantages superior to her own (her own was one year's schooling). She did not escape the whippings. Her superior lord, when drunk, whipped her too. Most of the little of life which she had been able to keep together she gave to the three children she obediently bore.

He died when the oldest child was six and the youngest was two years old. She re-entered the world of competitive labor a fit and submissive subject for exploitation. The Charity Organization Society paid her rent and a Day Nursery looked after her children while she scrubbed Columbia University from seven o'clock in the morning until six at night, or worked in the silk mill for nine hours a day and $5.50 a week.

"I thought, perhaps I was not doing right," she said to me, "to work when the others were striking to make things better. But wouldn't you think the Charity Organization ladies would have told me it was wrong?"

In that same strike there were others, others who had children to support, rent to pay and food to buy, and yet they struck. Many of them each day faced a life as impossible as was the little woman's, with one difference. The little woman had lost her spirit; those who struck had kept theirs, or as often happens, they had found it through the hope and the sense of common interests kindled to a high pitch by strike action.

It was among her own kind and by them that she was branded "scab." Strikers hate a scab with full knowledge of the conditions. Their contempt for the scab is contempt for an enslaved spirit.

"But," it may be asked, as it often is, "Is not such a philosophy rather exhalted in the case, for instance, of the little woman? Was not her first duty to her children? Had she, after all, any right to risk the displeasure of the Charity Organization Society agents? Or the Day Nursery and its care of her children? Had she any right to lose a day's work with three children to feed?" Yes, it is an exalted philosophy —just as was the negro's who risked the master's protection of his children when he enlisted in a war for the freeing of his race.

BUT to come back to the question of strikes as a practical method of changing intolerable conditions. How as a matter of fact, it is insisted, do strikers live? Do they starve? Do they let their children starve and be turned into the street? What, in particular, would the little woman do if she did strike?

Before answering let me say that these questions are always asked by people who do not yet know that when labor goes to war it has chosen luxuriously, it has chosen freedom at the risk of its mess of pottage. The choice has been made before, and in memory of the deeds we honor the past.

Let us suppose that the little woman had struck; that she had lost the support of her philanthropic friends. (We haven't really asked them what their position is in such cases.) She

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would have done what the others did who were submerged, and had no credit at the corner store. The moment she became a striker she would have found new friends. She would have found some of these friends probably within her own tenement. She would have been befriended by other strikers who had credit at the store or a margin of a week's saving or more. The friends of the strikers would have helped her.

Then, at last, if these friendly resources gave out and that much dreaded Gerry Society took the children away they would have hardly fared worse than they were faring, according to her own account, when living on the income from her industry and the charity agencies put together. They were living in three rooms, four of them slept in one bed, they possessed a stove, three chairs and a table. They "lived on beans," except for the cup of cocoa for supper, and "thankful they were to get it, too." Just before she took the ten hour a day scrubbing job at the University, the doctor told her that it was absolutely necessary for her to stop work for six months; that she was in no condition to look after her children; that her physical as well as her nerve force was exhausted.

Looking after the children was reduced to her furnishing them, for their physical upbringing, a diet of beans, and for their moral, "I'll beat you," for every transgression of the limitations set by her own impoverished life and the $5.50 weekly wage. All strikers are not of the class we pleasantly call submerged. There are workers in every strike who have back of them some resources, such as other members of the family working, credit at the store, or, and this is the most valued credit of all, the credit of friendship.

As we ascend the social scale and reach at last the prosperous, friendships take on other aspects. Here friendships have a happy run while all are secure alike in worldly possession. The friend who fails to keep the material standards set by the particular set becomes an annoyance, a block in the way of cheerful living, and at last disappears. There are classic exceptions to the rule, but that these exceptions are not the rule will be recognized when compared with the standard for friendship which prevails among wage earners.

It is the rule, not the exception, in a working class neighborhood to share your food with a friend or a neighbor who was not a friend of yours until he was in trouble. You not only share your food but your home if a neighbor is evicted. It is not good manners to sit in your flat and see a neighbor (even if you never saw him before), together with his goods turned into the street. You would lose your standing if you did not with other neighbors divide up his possessions for safe keeping, and help to shelter the members of his family. Even the self-righteous neighbor who does not believe in strikes, would be forced by public opinion to do as much. He might make the place he offered mighty unpleasant, but he would make the place.

It is well for the thrifty to remember these resources of strikers. It is well for several reasons. They will take pleasure in knowing of the rare keeping of that Christian mandate, too ideal and worldly for general use, to give ALL to the poor. It is well also to remember that these resources for strike purposes become almost limitless when strikers decide that they have nothing to lose. They have shown a remarkable tendency in that direction in some of the recent strikes.

And this brings me back to my reason for telling the story of the little woman. She is a measure of what labor expects of labor in its most militant aspects in its struggle with capital. Working men on strike demand great sacrifices of each other. Working women on strike demand all. Labor men say that women make the best strikers.

The leaders of the suffrage movement in America say that women will not be called on to use militant methods to gain the suffrage in this country. The militant movement in America is the labor movement and it is the women of the labor movement who are using militant methods. When a strike is on they require, as do the English women in their franchise fight, that those who engage in their war shall be ready, when called upon, to give not what they can spare but their lives and all they possess. They require the gift of warriors.

I have often noticed that women who come into strike to be of friendly assistance are apt to grow anxious and restless after a week or so while the strikers' determination and spirit increase. The strikers' friends are heard saying about the end of the second week, "It is impossible for the strike to go on. The strikers have no money left. They will starve. Can't something be done to bring about a settlement?" These kindly friends have missed the point. The shorter hours or higher wages for which the strike was called have lost their original importance, due to the birth of a new spirit brought to life by the strike itself. They are enlisted now into ages old war against enslavement, before which starvation as a spectre disappears.

I have never known women strikers to surrender except through pressure exerted, in the strikers' interest, by their male advisors or officers of a union or by friends outside the labor struggle. All of these friends interferred on the ground of their wider experience in the practical affairs of life.

We have then our militant women in America. Let it be remembered by other women that when these women are militant it is not for the sake of a wage gain here or there, which might have been had by an act of a legislature, or might have been granted by a joint stock company in the interest of decency. It is for the freeing of the will of the workers from domination, whether the domination be harsh or kind.

THE LIVING WAGE.

BY

ALICE HENRY.

THOSE with an ear attuned to catch the appeal of their age and country must know that there is something in the air just now different from anything that has gone before. Above all the mass of confused sounds in the social world is heard the cry for "A Living Wage."

And instantly springs up the question, "For what sort of a life shall it provide?" A minimum wage, it has been called, but that phrase has come to cover ideas so very different from ours that it is well, perhaps, to be more explicit, and a living wage admits of being explained in terms of human needs.

Most people's notion of a minimum wage is based upon the slave-owner's idea, enough to keep the worker alive and fit for work. And there are too many, now that the demand for minimum wage legislation has become in the industrial sections of the country a nation-wide slogan, who will salve their uneasy consciences with the sense that they have done their duty when their own state has at length passed some sort of legislation under their name, although the only legislation that is thought of at present in this country has reference merely to the most exploited class of all, children and underpaid women. So that the minimum wage we are hearing most about to-day can only mean the least remuneration that the poorest paid employe can be compelled to accept, and the least an unwilling employer can be legally permitted to escape by paying.

Temporarily, it is true, the workers may have to accept but an installment of the larger life that bigger wages alone can ensure, but let them make it clear that they view it as merely an installment, and not a makeshift substitute for the whole of the wider life they aim finally to attain.

A high standard of life for all is what the workers have to keep ever before their eyes. Let them aim, then, at something worth having. Talk of housing, for instance. Was there ever anything more encouraging as an ideal whose fulfillment one can strive for than Mrs. Gilman's bold demand for "two rooms and a bathroom" for every grown-up human being? I feel my backbone stiffening as I think of it. And all the rest of life must be in keeping. Food wholesome and appetizing, clothes comfortable and graceful, and education broad and adequate, not forgetting the primal need for recreation.

Do not say industry cannot afford this, industry whose recurrent cry is over-production. Do not say the community cannot afford it, a community in every other direction so wasteful and extravagant of its resources, a community which has destroyed its forests, despoiled its rivers, which is only beginning to learn the meaning of agriculture, and which uses up, on mere mechanical processes, the treasures and the beauty of youth.

Faint but clear out of the mass of misery and suffering rises this demand for a living wage. It means more than humanity ever asked for before. It is a noble, a dignified demand, something at least worthy of humanity. For it means more than life, it means the right at last for all to be human, to be their best selves, to develop who knows what capacities, what unguessed-of powers? What may we not expect of one another, and of humanity, once that decent plane of existence is guaranteed for all?—*Reprinted from Life and Labor.*

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From the Platform of Principles of the American Federation of Labor.

"I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice. . . . It is unfair that women should be governed by laws in the making of which they have no voice. . . . Men would feel that they were used badly if they did not have that right, and women naturally feel the same."

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Pres. American Federation of Labor.

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"ONE who thinks earnestly about the position of workingwomen can never overlook the enormous indirect consequences of the ballot—the gain in education, in independence, in self-reliance, and therefore the gain for workingwomen in the ability to organize. Everyone believes that the privilege of voting is educative in many ways. Workingwomen are only asking that they should not be denied this instrument of education and protection, which no one would now think of denying to the workingman."—*The Wage-Earning Woman and the State, Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge.*

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WOMEN AND LABOR.

"THE woman movement and the labor movement are two expressions of the democratic spirit of our times. I need not here in this group make a plea for woman suffrage, for every forward looking woman is a suffragist. But if there is one group of women above another who need the ballot it is the group of working women. We need the ballot because we know its value in making for the control of the conditions of industry and we know that the future struggles of the industrial conflict will be fought out in the field of politics. I especially plead for the consideration of the ballot as a practical necessity to protect the working mothers of our country. Every woman in America who wishes to see our land bring forth a great people must join with us in insisting that unto us women be given the full control of the conditions under which we are asked to work."—*Margaret Drew Robins at the National Women's Trade Union League Convention.*

WORKING WOMEN AND LEGISLATION

BY

IRENE OSGOOD ANDREWS,

Assistant Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation.

THE last two years have each seen the introduction of a new principle in labor legislation affecting women and children. In 1912 Massachusetts established the principle of determining a minimum wage for women and children in any occupation. The year 1913 has seen the introduction of the principle which permits boards or commissions to determine the number of hours a woman or child may work, within statutory limits, in any given occupation, and to determine the conditions under which work may be carried on. These two lines of activity will, if efficiently carried out, mean much to the woman and child worker, especially those in industrial employments.

A commission to study the general work of women and children was created this year in Indiana; the Industrial Commission of Ohio was authorized to gather information on the subject; commissions to study the minimum wage were enacted in Michigan and New York, and minimum wage boards were provided for in Washington, Oregon, California, Nebraska, Minnesota and Wisconsin; and Utah established a minimum wage for women and children by statute law.

THESE American acts differ from those in European countries in that ours do not apply to men, although in Minnesota male minors up to twenty-one years of age are included.

In all of these states except Utah wages in any occupation are to be determined, after careful investigation, by representatives of employers and employees, together with representatives of the public. The findings of a board are, in most States, as in foreign countries, binding upon the employer, but in Massachusetts the commission, relying upon the compulsion of publicity, may only publish in the daily papers the names of the employers who do not pay the minimum agreed upon by the wage board; and, furthermore, an employer may apply to the courts for a restraining order, if in his opinion the payment of the minimum wage would take away reasonable profits.

In Utah the law differs from those in other states, in that it establishes in the act itself a minimum wage of seventy-five cents a day for minors under eighteen, ninety cents for adult female learners and apprentices (time limited to one year), and one dollar and a quarter for minors under eighteen, ninety cents for adult experienced women workers. This measure is unique in its method, and is of doubtful constitutionality.

The only State commission which has reached conclusions as to wages is Oregon, where a minimum weekly wage of $8.64 has been recommended for all manufacturing establishments. However, it is still early for definite results, since the problems of enforcement and constitutionality have not yet been settled.

In this connection the question immediately arises, What will be our final arbiter? The courts say that the constitutionality of these acts has not yet been brought before them, and, while laws regulating hours and conditions of work for women are now quite generally upheld on the ground that the good health of women is essential to the welfare of the state, yet it is difficult to say whether or not the courts will accept the health argument when applied to wages.

The regulation of wages establishes a new and broader aspect of the "general welfare" principle, which, if sustained, can probably be extended to regulate the work of men.

PERHAPS even more important than the creation of minimum wage boards is the power given this year to commissions in Oregon, California, Wisconsin and Ohio to regulate, within statutory limits, the hours of work for women and children. It is obvious that in some occupations eight or even ten hours a day may not be physically injurious, while in other occupations, such as those involving the use of poisons, work under extremes of temperature or humidity, or excessive nervous strain, seven, six or even five hours a day may seriously injure the health of the worker.

Commissions in these states may, after thorough investigation, recommend for any occupation a working day, which they believe will not be injurious to the women and children employed. Here again Oregon has recommended nine hours a day and fifty-four a week in all manufacturing establishments (the statutory limit is ten a day and sixty a week). After additional investigation hours in the more harmful occupations will doubtless be limited still further.

The method of establishing wages, hours or conditions of work through boards or commissions is comparatively new in American law and, with the enlightened court decisions upholding hour limitations on woman's work, it is doubtful if even the courts will feel inclined to split hairs over the constitutionality of the method here provided.

SEVERAL States this year reduced the hour limit for industries in general to fifty-eight, six or four a week; Texas established for the first time an hour limit of ten a day and fifty-four a

week in certain trades, and Delaware, a ten-hour day and fifty-five-hour week, with an eight-hour limit for night work; the eight-hour day voted by the people of Colorado last November became operative in January of this year, and Oregon enacted an eight-hour law with a fifty-six-hour week. Strenuous efforts were made in Illinois to reduce hours, but defeat came at the last moment; the governor, however, vetoed a bill to exempt the canners from the operations of the present ten-hour law.

New York re-enacted the law declared unconstitutional a few years ago, which prohibits the employment of women in factories between 10 P. M. and 6 A. M., and the New York Court of Appeals is thus given an opportunity to reverse a most unfortunate earlier decision; the employment of women in mercantile establishments, foundries and in canneries is regulated, and when a female employee is required to undergo a physical examination, a woman physician must be employed.

Nebraska established a nine-hour day and fifty-four-hour week, with night work prohibited between 10 P. M. and 6 A. M.; New Hampshire established a fifty-five-hour week with an eight-hour limit for night work, and Vermont, a fifty-eight-hour week, with the work of women prohibited in factories for four weeks preceding childbirth.

The work of women in foundry coil rooms was entirely forbidden in New Jersey, and for the first time in American legislation the size of receptacles which women may lift or move is regulated by a new Massachusetts act, which require castors or pulleys to be provided in all manufacturing or mercantile establishments for moving receptacles not less than 2x2½x2 feet, or equivalent dimensions; but the weight of the package, strangely enough, is not considered, as it commonly is in such legislation in foreign countries.

THE standard bills of the Association for Labor Legislation, providing protection from lead poisoning and the reporting of occupational diseases, were enacted this year in a dozen States. The use of white lead is especially dangerous to women and seriously affects their reproductive functions. It is hoped that the regulation of the use of white lead may be among the first orders of the newly created Industrial Board in New York.

The employment of women as factory inspectors and on boards or commissions regulating labor conditions is being extended to many States. In New York women have for several years been employed as inspectors, but this year the Department of Labor is authorized to employ, out of a total of one hundred and twenty-five, "not more than" thirty women factory inspectors, to include one woman medical inspector at $2,500 a year and four women mercantile inspectors at from $1,000 to $1,500 a year.

In the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry one member of the Industrial Board at $10 per day and necessary expenses; one medical inspector at $2,500 a year, and five factory inspectors at $1,500 a year, must be women.

The Bureaus of Labor in Minnesota and Washington have each had a Woman's Department for several years, and this year Tennessee and Utah each authorize the appointment of a woman deputy commissioner. Iowa and Kansas authorize women factory inspectors, and the appointment of women is required on the minimum wage boards of Oregon, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Nebraska and California, but not upon the Washington board. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania require the appointment of at least one woman on the boards of the departments of labor and industry, but this provision is omitted for those departments in Ohio, Wisconsin and New York, although in the latter State women are serving upon both the Industrial Board and the Minimum Wage Commission.

THE many recent strikes in the garment trades, involving women workers and frequently causing indiscriminate arrests on the picket line, makes a new Massachusetts law of special interest. This law applies alike to men and women and defines "peaceful persuasion" or picketing; no person may hereafter be held for attempting to persuade another to do a legal act unless he injures or threatens to injure the person, property, business or occupation of another, or unless he indulges in disorder or unlawful conduct, or is a party to an unlawful conspiracy. The granting of injunctions was also regulated in Massachusetts.

Of special importance to women and children is the question of labor law enforcement. While many States have made advances in this field, special mention should be made of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Minnesota, California, Oregon and Washington. But only in Wisconsin, where an Industrial Commission was created in 1911, can definite results be seen. One striking example came through the exercise of the power to protect the moral welfare of employees, which enabled the commission to close up a house of ill-fame situated directly opposite a factory employing a large number of girls.

Probably the most significant fact of this year's legislation is the extension of the principle of government by boards or commissions instead of by legislative act. This method of labor regulation is commonly used in European countries and will be of great importance in this country if our progress in this direction is not blocked by the courts.

♣ ♣ ♣

"THE lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."—CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

VICTORY 1915 IN MANHATTAN

BY

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW.

WE are told continually in suffrage work, and we cannot be told too often, that the up-state work must be so pushed during this whole campaign for victory in 1915, that the adverse majorities in the Borough of Manhattan may be thoroughly diluted and reduced. We realize most poignantly the truth of the political proverb and the possibility that awaits the suffrage amendment on the old Island of Manhattan. As our work progresses, however, we feel that we are not fatuous in hoping that the adverse majority will be smaller than it has ever been for any of the definite machine measures that have been killed in the well-organized political arenas of the Borough. Indeed, as we draw our lines closer, increase the number of our adherents by the thousands and crystallize our suffrage forces into some kind of definite power in each Assembly District, we feel greater and greater encouragement.

Much of our political work now lies behind us. As a result of four years of progress, the Woman Suffrage Party is known to-day in almost every political club in the city. Republican, Democratic, Progressive and Socialist clubs have heard from us repeatedly, and the greater majority of them have admitted us to their socials meetings, their deliberations, their conventions and their designation meetings.

There is not a political district leader who does not know the Woman Suffrage Party leader of his district, or at least, if he doesn't know her, he has a very short memory. Senators and Assemblymen not only know the Woman Suffrage Party activity of their districts, but in a great number of cases they have spoken at our meetings.

NOW that the submission of the woman suffrage amendment is practically assured, we are placing less emphasis upon political work and dwelling more upon interesting and reaching the voter. The ideal of our intensive campaign is to reach every citizen in every Assembly District before the Fall of 1915. This is a happy shift of emphasis; it takes us more into the open and gives a splendid sweep of democracy to all our efforts.

Workers are flocking to us by the hundreds and members by the thousands. New enrollments come to Headquarters in such quantities that they can scarcely be counted and tabulated.

Perhaps nothing is more characteristic of the work in the last six months than the increased enthusiasm and resourcefulness of our members. Nothing seems too much for some of the district committees to undertake.

Last Summer, one district felt, after an arduous season, that as many of its workers were going away, it could afford to shut down. This

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW

Summer, it has not only continued the regular activities but has added a steady routine of two open-air meetings a week. Another district, not content with a street meeting every night, has decided to have one night when it would carry on simultaneous street meetings throughout the section. Still another, not content with afternoon and evening meetings, has carried on a series of noonday meetings.

Nothing has so put suffrage sentiment to work as this district method: local district clubs, district dances, district card parties, for making money, district teas and receptions, district automobile campaigns, district flower sales. Every imaginable method of approach to the voter; every conceivable way in which money could be raised from the district work; every means whereby unity and cooperation could be established among the workers; every means whereby luke-warm adherence could be made new and active workers, has been utilized during the last year in the various districts of this Borough.

There are many evidences of the growth of local interest. Perhaps one of the most interesting and definite measures of Party strength

has been afforded year after year by the parades. Where dozens marched a year ago, last Spring hundreds marched, and where hundreds marched last Fall, thousands were in line this Spring of 1913. There was not a district in Manhattan that was not represented under its own banner, and in every case by residents of the district.

OF course, there are many problematic and difficult districts where there has never been a strong movement of any kind, where even the political organization is held by force or maintained by a highly evolved system of patronage such as suffragists would never use or inaugurate. Yet in these very districts, where political independence is not strong and where civic pride is in the making, we have been amazed during the last year at the splendid response of people.

In many of these districts our propaganda work is as strong as in the more highly developed ones. As long as we can keep up the framework of our foundation, have a leader and a few captains, we can push the work even with slight organization. But in cases of this kind the leader depends upon Headquarters for assistance, and when help is needed one by one of our "flying squadron" automobiles, with organizers, City or Borough officers and campaign speakers is sent to "do" the district as thoroughly as possible.

OUR Borough officers, Mrs. Tiffany, Mrs. Nathan and Mrs. Crowell, have been ably seconded by many chairmen of committees who have done efficient work. The duties of the executive officers have grown more onerous as the detail work of leaders, captains, and officers of the district has increased. From Miss Ueland, in the 1st Assembly District, who has been such a splendid influence politically and socially, to our comparatively new and able leader of the 31st, at the north of the Island, we have had a group of women of varied gifts and unfailing devotion.

Miss Forthal is one of the young and enthusiastic workers who has taken charge of the 3rd, a district where our leaders have always had the welfare of their locality at heart as well as their zeal for suffrage.

Miss Dock, in her wonderful work throughout the 2nd, 4th and 8th Assembly Districts, has galvanized many an apathetic person into life. In fact, she is such a human dynamo that few people whom she really seeks to convert can escape. Miss Dock's work is brilliantly illustrative of what a leader in a foreign district can do. One of our most tremendous tasks in Manhattan is to reach the people of foreign creeds and nationalities. More than ever we have had notices and articles published in German, French, Italian, Bohemian and Yiddish papers. We have had members of foreign Unions ask for suffrage speakers. Not content with our leaflets in foreign languages which are used so unsparingly throughout the Borough, Miss Dock has had a remarkable series of sign boards, sandwich boards, telegrams to the people and banners and notices printed in six or seven different languages. Those who saw her division in the parade realized in a picturesque way the linguistic make-up of her district.

Mrs. Gear, of the 18th, has been intensely interested in the brilliant and interesting Bohemian colony. Mrs. Esther Gittes is an example of a leader who has aroused many of the young men of the neighborhood, her son being one of our gallant and interested co-workers. The 7th, which is mothered by Mrs. Grimshaw, is particularly a home district. Mrs. Zimmerman, of the 9th, and Mrs. Quinn, of the 11th, are old residents of their neighborhoods and know the people and the best avenue of approach to the work. The same is true of Mrs. Robins in the 10th, who with her husband is so well known that their suffrage activity has an important influence upon the voters.

The 5th Assembly District had for its leader last year Miss Josephine Roch, who did brilliant work for the district. Miss Roch was called away from us to be policewoman in Denver. Often our Woman Suffrage Party officers are so effective that some other big cause or movement gets them, but instead of mourning their departure we ought to be proud that we could utilize their talent even for a short time. There are many public-spirited and progressive social workers in this district, and with the help of Mrs. Simkovitch, we always find a center for Party activity. The leadership at present is in the hands of Miss Mabel Foster.

IT would be impossible to take space to describe the many-sided and vigorous work of Mrs. Frederick Gillette, of the 12th Assembly District. Mrs. Gillette is an example of a leader who takes office with mournful assurance that she "will do the best she can in working up the district, but that she can never speak," and later finds undiscovered talent as a speaker. I should like to note here how generous some of the busiest leaders like Miss Dock, Mrs. Gillette, Mrs. Gear, Miss Sterling, Mrs. Weeks, Dr. Halton and Mrs. Griffin are in speaking in other districts than their own when the call comes to them.

Miss Swinton, of the 13th, and Miss McOuat, of the 14th, have developed a large amount of work in their difficult neighborhoods. An out-of-door speaking club for the Summer under Miss McOuat and Mrs. LeBaron, of the 14th, has been a new and interesting development. Mrs. Kremer, Mrs. Morton and Miss Sterling have not only worked up strong centers on suffrage lines in their own sections but they are three very neighborly districts, combining for senatorial demonstrations in an effective way.

(Continued on page 28)

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Votes for Women 1914 Calendars.

Twelve yellow-tinted cards, 12 x 6 in., giving 12 suffrage arguments, 12 quotations, and 12 detatchable post cards with suggestions for their use.

Each, $0.50 Postpaid, $0.57

$0.35 each in dozen lots, express additional

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A sunflower printed on a yellow card, each petal lettered with a word suggesting aims of suffrage.

Per 100, $0.10; Per 1000, $0.75

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Votes for Women Playing Cards.

The regular card deck, with backs lettered with VOTES FOR WOMEN; in yellow and black, yellow and white, and in purple, white and green.

Each, $0.25; Per doz., $2.00; Per 100, $17.50

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A thirty-six page chart on tough, light paper mounted on a light wood holder; each page containing a single sentence complete in itself, but making, when turned, a continuous story. *$2.50 Each, Express Charges Additional.*

For descriptions and prices of the Suffrage Picture Gallery; for buttons, sashes, bannerettes, pennants, stationery, post cards, posters, pins and tea cups; and for flyers and literature of all kinds, see regular catalog sent free on the receipt of two cent stamp for postage.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

505 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

THE BATTLE FOR EQUAL WAGE IN ENGLAND.

BY
VIDA SUTTON.

THE principle of equal pay for equal work has been conceded in one important case in the Civil Service of England.

A woman has been appointed to serve on the Health Insurance Commission, that will carry out the new National Insurance law, and will receive the same salary as her male colleagues.

The appointment of a woman on the commission was the result of pressure brought to bear by organizations of women. The salary was conceded because the position and service of the woman appointed was so universally recognized.

It is the Insurance Act itself that has caused the question of equal pay to come up with renewed vigor. Under the act every worker must be registered and pay a weekly insurance in order to receive the benefit in case of sickness. Because woman's wage is less, she is taxed less, and her benefit is less. The old question—If a woman does as valuable work as a man should she not receive the same pay?—is no longer to have the old answer. No, not if you can get her for less, because women are recognizing that they must make a stand against this system.

The agitators claim that the Government should be the first to recognize the principle of equal pay for equal work, and that the natural place for the reform to begin is in the Civil Service. Now only the smallest posts and tiniest salaries are open to women. General Post Office clerks and typists are the chief billets, and these are subsidized by women and girls who live at home, for the salary is not enough to make them really self-supporting, and men in similar positions get at least one-third more.

The demand is that there shall be an equal wage scale, and that the examinations for high positions be open to university women as they are to men, and with the same salary. Then the best prepared wins the billet.

They refuse to listen to the old reason of high wage for a man on the ground that he supports a family. What of the bachelors, they say, who are drawing large salaries? If that is the principle upon which men are paid, let the bachelor class have the same rate as the women, and give them a substantial increase when they marry.

This would be effective in reducing the number of bachelors, and securing the better salaries for the married men, and would be more fair than the present system.

In the industrial world the working man is becoming a champion of equal wage. It is neither his chivalry nor his sense of justice. It is the old primitive reason of self-preservation; "*the man will get the job if the wage is the same* for the man and women," he says.

The women agitators declare they are willing to accept the terms. Let it be in all fields a question of who can best do the work, but let women be free to enter the lists as a competitor in every industry or profession on equal terms.

If she is less qualified that will be the feature that decides her position.

A REAL TOAST.

Here's to the woman with many a care,
Who sits all day in an office chair,
And at night, when her day's work is through,
Goes home and finds more work to do;
Gets up in the morning and cooks and scrubs,
And wrestles around with laundry tubs;
Yet the usual hour finds her smiling there,
Beside her desk, in the office chair.
If she's strong enough these burdens to tote,
Here's to the State where they let her vote!

Judge.

VOTES FOR WORKING WOMEN.

"I'M in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has endorsed the demand that woman be given the right to vote.

"I have always stood for the SQUARE DEAL and that's the only square thing on the woman suffrage, as I see it.

"I personally believe that it would be for the good of US ALL for women to be enfranchised."
—JOHN MITCHELL.

"THE statement is sometimes made that the franchise for women would be valuable only so far as the educated women exercised it. This statement totally disregards the fact that those matters in which women's judgment is most needed are far too primitive and basic to be largely influenced by what we call education. The sanitary condition of all the factories and workshops, for instance, in which the industrial processes are at present carried on in great cities, intimately affects the health and lives of thousands of working women."—*Jane Addams.*

SWINGING around the State in a stunning campaign for suffrage, Alfred H. Brown, speaker for the Men's League, is covering forty-five towns in the twenty days, addressing meetings afternoons and evenings, with a view to interesting the men outside of New York in an organization to push suffrage for women.

The trip started August 25th at the Woman Suffrage Party Headquarters in Brooklyn, where a meeting was held, following which were meetings at the National the Party, the State and the Union Headquarters, met there by a woman chauffeur. Mr. Brown and Mr. Beadle motored to Yonkers and New Rochelle, where meetings were held in the evening. The line of route is from New York to Albany, across to Buffalo and back about the southern line of the State to New York.

Mr. Brown has campaigned both the States of California and Washington for suffrage. In the Roosevelt campaign nine years ago, he was one of the ablest speakers.

Towns along the route wishing Mr. Brown should communicate with Mr. Beadle, The Men's League, New York City. The league also, wishes to learn of entertainment and automobiles which can be offered to facilitate the comfort and progress of the speaker.

Throughout The State

Edited by SARAH J. RUSSELL

STATE CONVENTION, OCTOBER 14 TO 17, BINGHAMTON.

ARE you planning for the Convention? Is every county and local president making sure that the dues are ready and that the Treasurer sends them on time? They must be in the State Treasurer's hands before October 1st. Mrs. Maud Ingersoll Probasco is our Treasurer and can be addressed at 180 Madison Avenue, New York.

After you, dear President, have made sure that the dues are paid, then see that your delegates are appointed and find out whether or not they will go to the convention. Be sure to have your full quota and find alternates to fill any vacancies that may occur in the list.

Assembly District Leaders must call meetings to choose one delegate for their district. Let us make this the biggest convention on record. We ought to have a voting body of at least 300. If you are a State member, either life or annual, come and help us at Binghamton whether you are a delegate or not. If you believe in votes for women, come and be a part of this great convention.

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Headquarters.

THE Hotel Arlington will be the headquarters. Mrs. J. H. Ellett and Miss Cornelia Gregg are the Hospitality Committee. For further information, write to them.

Other Chairmen so far announced are: Press, Mrs. Harold Underwood; Parade, Mrs. H. M. Gitchel; Entertainments, Mrs. J. Roger Wales: Ushers, Miss Helen McNamara. The General Chairman is Mrs. George W. Topliff, the club President.

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Speakers.

THE Centenary M. E. Church, Court Street, has been selected for the meetings. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw are both on our program. We hope to have a series of outdoor meetings, moving pictures and a number of suffrage exhibits all through the week. Get in line for the parade the first day and be on hand for every meeting thereafter.

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Tickets for the Convention.

TICKETS at special rates will be issued for the Convention, but not before October 10th, and full instructions how to obtain them will be given in the next number of the VOTER.

♣ ♣ ♣

THE SUFFRAGE SCHOOL.

EVERY suffragist, in the State and out of it, who can possibly attend the School, September 15th to 27th, inclusive, should do so. Applications are already coming in rapidly and there is every indication that the generosity and rare organizing power of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt will give us a force of trained workers for our campaign such as no other has ever had. Whether or not you intend to join our force in New York, come and learn how to do the best work for suffrage. Send your names to 180 Madison Avenue and information as to the schedule, places to stay, etc., will be furnished.

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A BRAND NEW BOOK FOR SUFFRAGISTS.

ALL who had the privilege of attending the classes of Mrs. Gertrude Nelson Andrews, either at the headquarters in New York or up-State, will be glad of the opportunity to secure the lessons in printed form. They are to be ready for distribution by September 1st. Mrs. Andrews has generously given the copy to the State Association and whatever profits accrue from the sales will go to the State work. The pamphlet, of 40 pages, will sell for 25 cents, postpaid. Send orders to the headquarters.

Every woman who wishes to understand suffrage arguments and be prepared for the campaign should purchase this invaluable guide. Every club and every library should have this pamphlet as a valuable aid in propaganda.

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A MONTH UP-STATE.

WITH Syracuse as headquarters I have been making frequent sallies into neighboring territory and finding so much to do that rest has been only a dream.

At Ithaca I had the extreme pleasure of meeting Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, who spoke with me at the afternoon and evening meetings of the county convention. Mrs. Martin, of the University Club, presided at the first meeting, when a number of questions were asked. Mrs. Andrew D. White assailed the militants and thought the constitution of the State a very sacred document.

In the evening the Baptist Church downtown was well filled, though the heat was excessive. Mrs. Owens presided and made some strong appeals for help which evidently did not fall on deaf ears.

Union Springs was beautiful in the sunshine of the late afternoon when Miss Isabel Howland with two automobiles bright with yellow bunting and flowers turned into the Main Street. In a few moments a crowd had gathered around one of the autos. Miss Howland explained the significance of the dove on the county banner. While I was speaking, Mrs. Jessie H. Adler arrived in her car. She spoke of the home woman's need of the vote. The national petition received many signatures.

Miss Pierson arranged a meeting for me at Lowville. where I was the guest of the new club President, Mrs. Phillips. The courthouse was well filled and in this formerly untilled land there was evidence of much sympathy with our cause.

One hot night Mrs. Blauvelt took me in her car to the southern end of Syracuse, where we addressed the members of a Methodist church out of doors. We took a large number of enrollments, although some of the sisters were still doubtful.

The Suffrage Rose
VICTORY 1915

A FEATURE FOR SUFFRAGE PARADES

A favor for Garden Parties, Luncheons, Dinners and Dances.
A saleable article for Mass Meetings and other Suffrage Assemblies.
Flower Girl Costumes, as used in Suffrage Parade, May 3rd, New York City, for rent
THE ROSES AT SPECIAL PRICE IN QUANTITIES

Write for Imformation to Mrs. M. M. WELSH, Telephone, Stuyvesant 1135
Woman Suffrage Party Headquarters 48 EAST 34th STREET

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CHAS. MEYER 103-105 WEST 13th ST. NEW YORK

Holland Patent, a charming old village near Utica, has a fine Town Hall and a number of superior people within its borders. One of the most notable citizens is Miss Clara C. Fuller, the head of a successful school at Ossining. To her energy and influence was due the great success of our meeting there on the night of the 8th. Miss Butcher and Mrs. Devine of Utica, and Mr. Pierce, a resident of California, spoke, Miss Butcher presiding. The next day Miss Dunlap had her parlors well filled and a splendid society was formed for the district and other educational work.

A Grange Picnic is always interesting, and the one at Mexico Point was no exception. The State Master, Mr. Vary, and the Master of the Indiana Grange spoke and I was given 30 minutes to expound suffrage. Mrs. Mott and her assistants secured many signatures.

At Auburn and Phoenix wonderful street meetings were held in connection with the Niagara-to-the-Sea petition. Autos with yellow banners from Sherwood bringing Miss Emily Howland, Miss Isabel Howland and others were met at Auburn by a party from Geneva, headed by Mrs. Beard, the County President, and from Syracuse by Mrs. Holden's and Mrs. Chapin's cars, bringing a number of club workers. Addresses were made by Miss Mills, Miss Roberts and Mrs. Adler.

At Phoenix Mrs. Chapin's and Mrs. Holden's cars met Mrs. Mott's and Dr. Doane's. Miss Mills, Miss Craft and Miss Roberts spoke.

An Italian Festival at Canistota sent an invitation to come there for the afternoon and evening.

HARRIET MAY MILLS.

THE PETITION.

THE Niagara-to-the-Sea petition was taken from New York to Washington by Mrs. Olive Stott Gabriel, the former President of New York County. It was a big roll. Many names were sent directly to the Capitol by those of our members who did not understand that all were to be counted at headquarters. Our total must have reached 10,000. Miss Paul says that the whole number of names was over 200,000, a wonderful record when there were so few weeks in which to work.

Mrs. Gabriel found on reaching Washigton that both New York Senators were away, but our resourceful representative sent for Senator George Chamberlain of Oregon, who had introduced the bill. He readily consented to present our petitions, referring them to Mr. O'Gorman on his return. Mrs. Gabriel had an especial claim to Oregon's Senator, as she had he'ped the campaign in that State last year.

COUNTY FAIRS.

A SPECIAL set of "rainbow" literature for use at the County Fairs has been prepared by Mrs. Burrows, Chairman of the Committee on Fairs, and it is now for sale at Headquarters. There are four new leaflets: "A Dozen Facts About Woman Suffrage," "The Farmer and the Square Deal in New York State," "Some Don'ts" and "Woman Suffrage and Temperance." These can be obtained in any desired number and are sent (express charges to be collected), but if those who order will send seventy cents per thousand with the order, it will pay the bare expense of printing, and relieve the State of a heavy expense.

Mrs. Burrows urges all suffragists to do some active propaganda work at the fairs near their homes. First secure a tent, booth, or corner in some building, then distribute literature, secure signatures for the enrollment slips, get permission to have speakers address the crowds, display a Voiceless Speech, and have on hand a collection of suffrage flags, buttons, etc., which can be sold, and so meet the expenses. This has been done successfully so many times that no one need hesitate to try it for the first time at her County Fair.

When the fair closes please report the kind of work done, the money collected, the number of names enrolled and all the activities, to Mrs. R. B. Burrows, Andover, N. Y., so that she may make an effective report at the State Convention in Binghamton.

MRS. D. JANNARIS, who has been acting as Executive Secretary for the State Association, will leave the end of the month to go to Syracuse, where she will take part in the district work of the city. Her place in the Headquarters has been taken by Miss Jane Olcott of Virginia, a member of the Alexandria County Equal Suffrage League, a Mt. Holyoke graduate, and a social service worker.

A NEW SUFFRAGE PENCIL.

A REPRESENTATIVE of Eberhard Faber called at Headquarters recently with a new pencil to aid in the suffrage cause. It is of alternate bands of yellow and black, with a rubber, has "Votes for Women" on one side, on the other the word "Suffragist," which has been copyrighted by the firm. As this is the only pencil made bearing that name all suffragists should buy it. Mr. Faber, being a good business man as well as a generous one, gave the State five gross of the pencils, to be sold at the Greater New York Fair, and thus introduced to the public. The pencils are on sale at Headquarters for 5 cents apiece, or 50 cents a dozen. Send an order for some.

OUR ORGANIZERS.

MISS FLORENCE ROBERTS and Miss Alice Pierson will be in Yates County.

Mrs. May Belle Morgan is working in Madison County and goes thence to Delaware County.

FIVE NEW CLUBS.

THE new clubs of the month are Northport, Port Washington, Lowville, Middletown and Holland Patent.

Northport was formed as the result of a conference held at the home of Mrs. Sammis last spring in Huntington to elect a leader of the Assembly District. Mrs. Harris Henschel is the President. Mrs. Sammis organized.

Port Washington was the result of a most enthusiastic meeting held at the home of Mrs. A. A. Kilduff and addressed by Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw and Mrs. C. G. Norris. Mrs. Kilduff was chosen President.

Holland Patent was the outcome of a fine evening meeting in the town hall early in August, held under the management of Miss Fuller. Miss Ida J. Butcher and Mrs. Devine of Utica spoke and were followed by the Rev. Mr. Pierce of California. Miss Mills concluded the program. Before the morning train left the next day Miss Butcher and Miss Mills formed a fine club with Mrs. Thompson as President.

Lowville was formed by Miss Alice Pierson, organizer under the College League. Its President, Mrs. M. A. Phillips, is a most efficient leader. The other officers are: Vice-President, Mrs. Milton Holt; Secretary, Miss Mary P. Kirley; Treasurer, Mrs. Josephine Leonard, and Auditor, Miss May R. Carter. The leading women of the village are enlisted in this new club, and they are planning a most systematic canvass of the county.

Middletown was formed on July 31st by Miss Elena Nearing. It starts with a fine membership and under the best possible auspices.

We hope all these new societies will be represented at the State Convention in Binghamton.

SUFFRAGE AT THE FAIR.

NEW YORK State Suffrage Week at the Greater New York Fair was conducive of much good as propaganda work; speaking to large crowds both afternoon and evenings, parades daily with the boys' band lead-

FROM A FRIEND

Whatever helps unite a party
Deserves the best that it can get
Well, here is something fine and hearty
For every earnest Suffragette

LIPTON'S TEA

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The Woman's Journal, weekly - - -	per year	1.00
This Offer—BOTH - - - - -	per year	1.00

¶ Each issue of both periodicals is full of the latest developments "towards victory," not only of suffrage but of other modern movements for better things. Prominent social workers, advanced thinkers, writers and artists contribute to both of these well established suffrage periodicals.
¶ Therefore an expenditure of $1.00 means to you during one year, 64 reminders of what big men and women are doing.
¶ If you desire to keep up with present day movements you cannot well afford to be without this combination of periodicals.
¶ If you take both the Voter-Newsletter and The Woman's Journal, send in a subscription for a friend.

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ing, debates, music and dancing were some of the many activities of the women in charge.

To Miss Janet McKenzie of Yonkers are we especially grateful for the use of her automobile. On the 14th a meeting was held in Wall Street and from there the journey was made to the Fair, where the management had an official photo taken.

Pease & Co. generously donated a piano for use in our tent, and Faber five gross of pencils. Westchester women were, as usual, on hand to assist and preside over a table from which buttons and suffrage novelties were sold.

Those assisting were Mesdames Alex. McKenzie, Frances Lang, R. Rhinehart, Mary Lilly, O. S. Gabriel, Ronald Stewart, Henry Robinson, Joseph Daly, I. Grant, W. G. Owen, Misses Smith, Bodine, Olcott, McKenzie, Green, Sudheimer, Massonneau and Mr. Jack Lang.

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ALBANY COUNTY.

MRS. GAVIT has been doing vigorous work in territory near Albany. She manned a party which Miss Keeler took in her car to Rensselaerville and which included also Miss Munsell and Dr. Culver, both of whom, with Mrs. Gavit, spoke. It was an excellent meeting and many enrollments were secured. Miss Munsell and Mrs. Gavit spoke twice at Slingerlands also.

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CAYUGA COUNTY.

MISS HOWLAND had charge of suffrage work at the Moravia Fair the third week of August. Miss Roberts was the chief speaker and stayed to do other work in Cayuga County.

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CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY.

THE Chautauqua Woman's Club, at the Assembly, has had lectures from Mrs. Gertrude Nelson Andrews, representing the State Association, and the following day from Mrs. Goodwin of Washington, with Miss Chittenden, President of the Anti-Suffrage Society of the State. Mrs. Andrews called a meeting of suffragists. So many came that it was necessary to adjourn to a larger place. The next day Mrs. Burrows and Mrs. Andrews attended a meeting called by Miss Chittenden for the anti-suffragists and found just three women there Yet the opposition will continue to state that the majority of women do not want to vote!

Mrs. Burrows has been speaking at Findley Lake, where there is a large summer Chautauqua each year.

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DELAWARE COUNTY.

ONE of the most notable events in Delhi's Old Home Week, August 4 to 9, was the concert given under the auspices of the Suffrage Club. Every seat in the opera house was taken and many could not find standing room. During the intermission souvenir leaflets containing the addresses of John Stuart Mill and George William Curtis were distributed as gifts from the club. It was a novel and effective way to interest and instruct people in the great truths of our cause.

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MADISON COUNTY.

THE Oneida Club took part in the hop-growers' picnic at Sylvan Beach on the 26th of July. One of the members who has a cottage there offered it as headquarters and it was gaily decorated in yellow. Mr. and Mrs. Blauvelt of Syracuse went over in their car and were joined by Mrs. Anna C. Etz of Hornell, all of whom spoke to interested crowds. Dr. Davis writes that as many as 25,000 were on the grounds during the day.

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NASSAU COUNTY.

MRS. W. R. KEARNS has sent in enthusiastic reports of the trip she made in the northern part of the county in the old "Continental wagon." Miss Irene C. Davison, Miss Rosalie Jones and Miss Elizabeth Lewis were with her at different times and her own little daughter made the whole trip. They stopped and spoke at Oyster Bay, Central Park, Farmingdale, Hempstead, Roosevelt, Jericho, Mineola and Oceanside, among other towns. On their rides along the country roads the party spoke to the farmers and drivers they met, and left literature with them and at their homes. Some of the elderly women blessed them and promised them their prayers, and one old man threw goldenglow blossoms into the cart. The trip wound up with a large meeting in Freeport, where were met Mrs. Richard Bent, Miss Amy Hutchinson, Congressman Chandler and others, who had been speaking that afternoon at Long Beach. Mrs. Edgar A. Sammis of Huntington had prepared a public welcome for the little wagon and its riders, with a fife and drum corps as escort, and many automobiles and carriages following, in an impromptu parade. Mrs. Sammis entertained the visitors, as did Miss Alice Horsford of Central Park, Miss Elizabeth Lewis of Hempstead, and Mrs. Lewis of Syossett. Among the results of the trip are nearly 500 enrollments, many people brought up to the point of forming clubs, and such a widespread interest in suffrage that the Antis declare they are going to begin a campaign of reaction over the same route.

Two brave and loyal suffragists, Miss Celeste Fitzpatrick and Miss Ruth Rice, have started a new club at Hempstead, and instead of getting officers first and doing the work afterward, they began to work first and organized later. They started street meetings, with the help of Miss Rose Gifford of California, who told of the practical workings of suffrage in that State. The audiences have been very eager to hear and much interested and the meetings have been held every Saturday night. This is the very best way to attract workers to the cause. Begin to do something, even without an organization, and the society will form itself, so to speak.

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NIAGARA COUNTY.

MRS. SHULER, judicial leader of the 8th District, did splendid work in Lockport at the time of the Pioneer picnic there.

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ONEIDA COUNTY.

UTICA has taken advantage of the opportunity for propaganda offered by two great gatherings during August. The first was the big German Day, on August 4th; the second the Firemen's Convention, August 19th to 22d. A large force of workers and speakers were on hand for these occasions and made many converts for the cause.

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ONTARIO COUNTY.

FROM Geneva Mrs. Lewis writes of a novel and successful plan tried recently by the Club. It gave a band concert one evening and had three good speakers give brief talks between the selections. The concert held people for an hour and a half. Ice cream and suffrage novelties were sold, literature was distributed and enrollments were taken. "I think it was the best thing we have done," concludes Mrs. Lewis.

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OSWEGO COUNTY.

MRS. MOTT, Leader of the County, is utilizing the large picnics to push the work in her district. On the 5th she came with a party in a gaily decorated car to Mexico Point for the Grange Picnic. Over 100 names were enrolled and every pennant as well as many buttons were sold, while literature was given away and converts were made. She also followed up the Fairs at Fulton and at Sandy Creek.

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Owing to lack of space, reports from Orange, Westchester, Washington, Wyoming and Suffolk Counties are held for the October issue.

VICTORY 1915 IN MANHATTAN

(Continued from page 20)

Mrs. Hirons, of the 21st, and Mrs. O'Sullivan, of the 23rd, are two other neighborly districts where the activities have over-lapped and the workers have cooperated. Mrs. Buchold and Mrs. McGrath, in the 20th, are working persistently and patiently with the result that there is a distinct increase of pubilic sentiment in their district. We are fortunate in our new leader in the 16th Assembly District, Mrs. Marie Johnsone, who has many fine plans for the district. Mrs. Hahn, of the 22nd, and Mrs. O'Sullivan, of the 23rd, are examples of leaders and workers whose daughters are comrades of their mothers in this great movement.

Perhaps the most interesting and active part of the Borough work is found in these favorably located central districts, the 25th, 27th and 29th, which three districts form the 17th Senatorial District. Reference has already been made to the progressive work so splendidly begun by Mrs. Howe, of the 25th, and carried on by Mrs. Paul Jacobi. It was under Mrs. Jacobi's leadership that the 25th gave the remarkable benefit performance at the Belasco Theatre this Spring, the proceeds of which they so generously shared with THE WOMAN VOTER. The activities of these districts are so resourceful and many sided, that it would be impossible to more than touch upon them.

Mention must be made of the effective political work which Mrs. Weeks and her committee have carried out in the 27th, and the success of the district dances. Dr. Halton, of the 29th, has stimulated her band of workers by trying many unique and original methods, such as: Anti surprise parties, canvassing in groups, workers' evenings, and various forms of street meetings. Removals have made many changes in the 26th Assembly District, which now, under Mrs. Tyndall's leadership, is doing excellent work. In transitional stages in such districts as this, our persistent and undaunted organizers have given much service. This is especially true of Mrs. Morris, Miss Klatschken and Mrs. Keep.

PERHAPS one of the most striking developments of the last few months has been the tremendous arousing of the hearts and minds of some of our happy, easy go-lucky women, to a vivid realization of those things which lie back of our whole great struggle for political freedom and the political power which will enable us to do these things which belong to modern woman's responsibility. But in spite of the increased knowledge given by work which takes them into every walk of life, into every street, square and alley of this great city, our women are not to be diverted or warped from their orbit.

It takes tact, courage and judgment for suffragists to decide how far they shall become allied with every great movement, but most of our Party workers have laid hold firmly on one great truth,—that many pounds of alleviation will not equal one pound of cure which comes from women's enfranchisement.

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In October the Assembly District Department will be published in its usual form.

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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

The Woman Suffrage Party is an organization which seeks to unite, and utilize through political channels, the entire equal suffrage force in the City of New York. Its aim is to secure the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution and its adoption at the polls. To this end it is proposed:

1. To diffuse among voters and non-voters a wider knowledge and deeper understanding of the underlying justice and expedience of woman's demand for the ballot.
2. To enlist the active co-operation of men and women by means of a systematic, vigorous, educational campaign.
3. To conduct a non-partisan campaign with the object of securing the pledges of all candidates for the Legislature to vote in favor of the submission of the woman suffrage amendment; to hold Assembly District, County and City Conventions when deemed expedient; to nominate candidates for the Legislature and secure a place on the official ballot by petition, should an adverse attitude of the Legislature render such action necessary.

The women of New York will not be able to vote until a bill authorizing an amendment to the State Constitution has passed the Legislature of 1915, and the amendment has been ratified by a majority vote at the polls.

To meet this situation, the Woman Suffrage Party proposes to conduct a constructive, systematic, thorough campaign in the City of New York which will reach every man and woman in it. It will endeavor to enroll as members all men and women in each Assembly District who believe that women should vote in order that the rapidly growing sentiment in favor of equal suffrage may be united into a definite, positive force.

The Woman Suffrage Party is organized by Districts in imitation of the plan followed by political parties, that a practical demonstration may be given to our legislators and political parties that there is a decided public opinion in their constituencies which demands suffrage for women.

No obligation of money or work is laid upon enrolled members of the Woman Suffrage Party, but all such will be notified of meetings to be held in their Assembly Districts, and of the annual District Conventions at which Assembly District Officers will be elected and Borough and City Officers nominated.

While work is not a necessary qualification for membership in the Woman Suffrage Party, yet, all believers in the cause are urged to activity. A woman suffrage club will be formed in each Assembly District and its members will pay regular dues.

New York must be converted; its intelligence must be convinced of the reasonableness of our demand; its conscience must be touched by the needs of women, and it must be made to feel that the enfranchisement of women is only another battle in the world's long struggle for human freedom.

The essential need at this time is numbers. We invite every suffragist in the City of New York to devote his and her zeal, enthusiasm and energy in helping to build up the Woman Suffrage Party in order that our great cause may triumph.

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THE NEW VOICE.

WITHIN the city's strident streets, we hear the same old sounds once more—
The peddler's call, the huckster's cry, the swarthy singers at the door;
And, in the country, birds and bees and boarders wake the meads sun-kissed.
But through the land there's one new note, whose vocal lure few can resist—
It is the Votes-for-Women voice of the omnipresent suffragist.

—*Judge.*

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The CLASSIFIED DIRECTORY, it will be found upon careful reading, contains something that will be of interest to YOU, something perhaps that you have never heard of.

When you have found the thing that interests you, follow it up. Tell others about it, and do not forget to say that you learned of it through THE WOMAN VOTER and THE NEWSLETTER.

CORNELL'S LOTION JELLIFIED Protects, Softens, Beautifies the Skin. Cools and Soothes Sunburn, also Relieves the sting of mosquito bite. Non-greasy, non-sticky. Dries quickly. Large tube 25 cents. On sale at Woman Suffrage Party Rooms, McCreery's and other New York shops. Out of town readers supplied via Parcel Post. By H. F. Cornell & Co., 18 West 34th Street, New York City.

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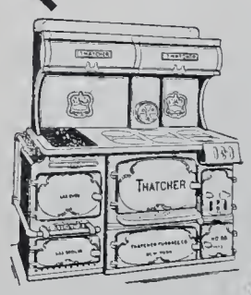

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY CALENDAR FOR SEPTEMBER

Sept. 1st.—Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 110th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 2d.—Manhattan, 6th Assembly District. Street meeting on Avenue C. 8 P. M. English and Jewish.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 137th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 1st Assembly District. Street meeting, City Hall Park. 2 P. M.

Sept. 3d.—Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, under Brooklyn Bridge. Noon.

Queens. Meeting of the Winfield Woodside Suffrage Club at the home of Mrs. Fox, 33 Rowan Place, Woodside. 3 P. M. Speakers, Mrs. A. J. Eno and Miss Martha Klatschken.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Sept. 4th.—Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, Catherine and Madison Streets. 8 P. M. English.

Manhattan, 3d Assembly District. Street meeting, 121st Street and Fourth Avenue. 8 P. M.

Sept. 6th.—Manhattan, 4th Assembly District. Street meeting, Lewis and Stanton Streets. 8 P. M. Jewish.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 117th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 8th.—Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 110th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 9th.—Manhattan, 6th Assembly District. Street meeting on Avenue C. 8 P. M. English and Jewish.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 137th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 1st Assembly District. Street meeting, City Hall Park. 2 P. M.

Sept. 10th.—Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, under Brooklyn Bridge. Noon. Silent speech.

Manhattan, 1st Assembly District. Street meeting, front of Stock Exchange on Broad Street. 12:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Sept. 11th.—Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, Catherine and Water Streets. 8 P. M. English.

Manhattan, 3d Assembly District. Street meeting, 10th Street and Second Avenue. 8 P. M.

Queens. Meeting of the Richmond Hill Suffrage Club at the Richmond Hill Republican Club, Lefferts avenue. 3 P. M. Speaker, Mrs. Dora Horene.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, Amsterdam Avenue and 106th Street. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 12th.—Manhattan, 8th Assembly District. Street meeting, East Broadway near Chatham Square. 8 P. M. Jewish.

Sept. 13th.—Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 117th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 15th.—Queens. Meeting of the Forest Hills Suffrage Club at the residence of Mrs. Hooper, 85 Greenway Avenue, Forest Hills. Speaker, Rose Livingston.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 110th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 16th.—Manhattan, 6th Assembly District. Street meeting on Avenue C. 8 P. M. English and Jewish.

Queens. Meeting of the Bayside Suffrage Club at the home of Mrs. John Dayton, Bayview Terrace, Bayside. 3 P. M. Speaker, Mrs. Dora Horene.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 137th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 1st Assembly District. Street meeting, City Hall Park. 2 P. M.

Sept. 17th.—Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, under Brooklyn Bridge. Noon. Silent speech.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 114th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Sept. 18th.—Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, Catherine and Cherry Streets. 8 P. M. English.

Manhattan, 3d Assembly District. Street meeting, 14th Street and Fourth Avenue. 8 P. M.

Sept. 20th.—Manhattan, 4th Assembly District Street meeting, Lewis and Stanton Streets. 8 P. M. Jewish.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 117th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 22d.—Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 110th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 23d.—Manhattan, 6th Assembly District. Street meeting on Avenue C. 8 P. M. English and Jewish.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 137th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 1st Assembly District. Street meeting, City Hall Park. 2 P. M.

Sept. 24th.—Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, under Brooklyn Bridge. Noon. Silent speech.

Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 114th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 134th to 139th Streets, Lenox and Seventh Avenues. 8:15 P. M.

Sept. 25th.—Manhattan, 2d Assembly District. Street meeting, James Slip. 8 P. M. English.

Manhattan, 3d Assembly District. Street meeting, 10th Street and Second Avenue. 8 P. M.

Sept. 26th.—Manhattan, 8th Assembly District. Street meeting, East Broadway near Chatham Square. 8 P. M. Jewish.

Sept. 27th.—Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 117th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 29th.—Manhattan, 19th Assembly District. Street meeting, 110th Street and Broadway. 8:30 P. M.

Sept. 30th.—Queens, Meeting of the Rosedale Club, at the home of Mrs. F. H. Ives, Washington Avenue, Rosedale.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 137th Street and Broadway. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 21st Assembly District. Street meeting, 139th Street and Seventh Avenue. 8:15 P. M.

Manhattan, 1st Assembly District. Street meeting, City Hall Park. 2 P. M.

Addresses of the shops will be furnished on request, or any article mentioned may be purchased through this department without extra charge by remitting the price to the editor, MILDRED G. BOWEN, care of The Woman Voter.

THE picturesque copper-toed boot, which our great grandfathers wore, has furnished the idea for a "Hard-play" shoe that will be a delight to mothers of active, healthy children. One man in New York has given years of study to the subject of fitting the little child into proper shoes, and it has proven a real missionary work. Grandmothers who were equipped with shoes when children now go to this shop to fit the feet of their grandchildren.

The "Hard-play" shoe evolved from his study is a broad-toed, button shoe, in black or tan soft serviceable leather with a reinforced tip, the name given to a firm fold of leather set in across the broad toe, just where the copper tip was placed in the long ago. The copper tip did not prove a success. This tip, though still new, is proving itself to be so serviceable and attractive that it will doubtless become a permanent adjunct of the play shoe. The shoe is made in sizes from 6 to 10 years of age and can be obtained for $2.25.

A flexible sole shoe, which allows free play to the ligaments of the little growing foot, is made up in the button shoe in sizes from 2 to 5 years and in the ankle ties in sizes from 2 to 10 years. The entire sole, made from thick, soft belt leather, is stitched so that there is not a nail in the shoe. The price of the former is $2.00, of the latter $2.00 to $2.50.

The balancing heel shoe is a little shoe made for babies from 8 months to 4 years of age. Observation of the regular shoe made for babies will show a curving heel such that the little foot wobbles from side to side when the child is learning to walk. To overcome this difficulty a tiny lift cut as a part of the leather sole has a perfectly flat surface, which makes the foot absolutely steady, and results in a remarkable saving of energy to the child as well as keeping the ankle strong.

MOTHERS to whom the weest child is of paramount importance will be glad to learn of an infant book, beautifully illustrated, which details every article of baby apparel needed for every occasion, both summer and winter. An entire line of nursery furnishings is also included. This book may be obtained by merely making application for it, since it is one of the features of an educational advertising campaign made by a shop which devotes much attention and thought to baby necessities.

Another interesting little brochure for the little child himself is made up attractively with pictures and tracing paper, and is a delight to the little one who wants to use a pencil and is old enough to try to follow a line. It may be had without charge by those who request it.

THOUGH the sailor costume for the school girl, made in good English serge, is ever acceptable, one of the Fifth Avenue shops has in mind the young girl's love of variety in designing a very simple tailored dress for school purposes.

Navy blue serge is combined with checked black and white serge in such a manner as to follow the present modes and yet retain a simplicity essential in the young girl's clothes. The plain plaid drop is surmounted by a coat-shaped, low-belted waist, which opens over a vest of the checked serge. The three-fourth length sleeves are set into big armholes with a tailored finish. The cuffs are set off with a set-in piece of the plaid and a finish of black silk braid. The neck and joining of the vest is finished with silk braid. Small gold buttons set here and there lend a touch of color. The dress is made in sizes for girls from 10 to 16 and the price is $13.50.

GIRLS who go away to school delight in attractive toilet articles. Fortunately the day for ornate accessories of this nature has passed, and wonderfully nice little outfits can be had done up compactly in neat leather cases. One set, consisting of ivory comb, brush, flat clothes-brush, tooth brush, soap box and liquid bottle, finds sufficient quarters in a black seal leather case, four by eight inches and two inches deep. This case may be purchased for $4.00. More expensive cases contain manicure articles and many luxurious accessories. They are attractively lined in watered silks, and are of such sensible shapes and compactness that they are easily packed.

THE chin ribbon, now so smart among the Paris styles in hats, is particularly becoming to the young face. With this idea in mind one fall hat for the young girl is made with a soft crush crown of velvet, bound with corded ribbon, which loosens into a flare around the crown. A bow of the ribbon is posed on one side and catches-in a cluster of green, red and yellow cherries. It also holds the chin ribbon, which comes from under the rim of the hat on the opposite side. This hat in all colors, the ribbon a lighter shade than the velvet, is $10.00.

A somewhat cheaper velvet hat made up for the young girl is of black velvet made over a crinoline tailored shape. Grograin ribbon in pastel blue is brought around the hat and tied in a flat, severe bow in the back with short ends hanging below the edge of the brim. At intervals of about three inches, tiny bud nosegays in new ornamental colors touch it up artistically. This cunning hat is priced $5.95.

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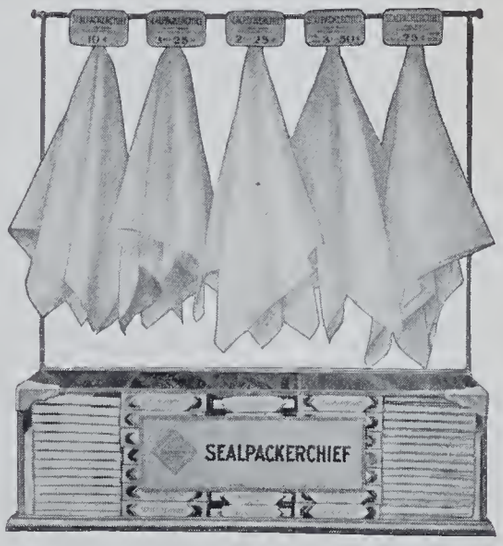

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